Message Text

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E.O. ,1652:

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (YOUNG, ANDREW)

SUBJECT: DRAFT SPEECH TO SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS LEADERS, JOHANNESBURG

FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM GROSE

FOLLOWING IS DRAFT OF STATEMENT FOR BUSINESSMEN ALONG LINES YOU SUGGESTED TO ME. IT HAS BEEN CLEARED BY WHITE HOUSE AND ACTING SECRETARY AND IS BEING REPEATED TO SECRETARY VANCE. BEGIN TEXT

- 1. AS SOON AS I RECEIVED YOUR INVITATION TO MEET WITH YOU HERE TODAY, I STARTED THINKING THROUGH WHAT I COULD SAY THAT WOULD HAVE THE MOST MEANING.
- 2. YOU'VE LISTENED TO PLENTY OF LECTURES FROM FOREIGNERS. YOU KNEW WHEN YOU INVITED ME HOW STRONGLY I FEEL ABOUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SOME OF THE SUBJECTS THAT ARE OF SUCH DEEP CONCERN TO YOU AS WELL. AS I STAND HERE, I COULD NOT BE MORE AWARE OF THE STRIKING DIFFERENCES IN OUR BACKGROUNDS.

3. I AM AN AMERICAN. THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY. YET I HOPE I CAN CONVINCE YOU THAT I HAVE SOME HONEST UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS GOING ON HERE, OF THE CHOICES THAT YOU

ARE FACING. WITH ALL THE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES OF TIME AND PLACE, I HAVE MYSELF LIVED THROUGH SOME EXPERIENCES

THAT I BELIEVE COULD HAVE SOME MEANING FOR YOU.

- 4. MOST OF ALL I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I AM WEIGHING MY WORDS CAREFULLY, OUT OF GENUINE CONCERN FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF THIS DYNAMIC AND PROMISING LAND AT THE SOUTHERN BASE OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.
- 5. THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AFRICA HAVE BEEN TIED TOGETHER FOR MANY DECADES, NOT JUST BY OUR ECONOMIC VENTURES TOGETHER THROUGH THE CENTURY, BUT ALSO BY A HERITAGE AND CULTURE COMMON AMONG OUR PEOPLES. SOUTH AFRICANS AND AMERICANS ARE PEOPLE OF THE FRONTIER, WHO KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO STRUGGLE AGAINST THE LAND -- AND TO ENJOY THE LAND.
- 6. I AM PROUD OF THE MISSIONARY ROLE OF OUR CHURCHES AMONG YOUR BLACK CITIZENS; THE BAPTISTS WHO STARTED COMING HERE IN 1894, AND THE AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WHOSE FIRST REPRESENTATIVE TO THIS LAND WAS FORMALLY RECEIVED BY DR. KRUGER, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.
- 7. IT WAS A LONG TIME AGO, BUT IT WAS AT YOUR CAPE
 OF GOOD HOPE THAT TWO ENGLISH ASTRONOMERS NAMED CHARLES
 MASON AND JEREMIAH DIXON PRACTICED THE ART OF SURVEYING,
 BACK IN THE 18TH CENTURY. THROUGH NO FAULT OF YOURS
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OR THEIRS, THE BOUNDARY THEY DREW BETWEEN THE COLONIES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND LATER ON BECAME THE GREAT POLITICAL FRONTIER OF 19TH CENTURY AMERICA, THE MASONDIXON LINE.

- 8. NO ONE CAN PRETEND THAT THE OLD TRADITIONS OF GOOD WILL AND JOINT VENTURES BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES HAVE SURVIVED THE PAST THREE DECADES WITHOUT DAMAGE. THE URGENT FACT OF TODAY IS THAT THIS RELATIONSHIP WILL BE COMING UNDER EVER MORE PRESSURE IF THERE IS NOT SOME MEANINGFUL PROGRESS TOWARDS RESOLVING THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT AND DIVIDE THE PEOPLE OF YOUR NATION.
- 9. IT IS NOT MY BUSINESS TO TELL YOU HOW TO FACE YOUR FUTURE. BUT IT IS OUR BUSINESS, AS AMERICANS, TO PLAN OUR OWN FUTURE. AND IT'S ONLY FAIR TO LET YOU KNOW WHERE WE STAND, IN THE HOPE THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES CAN STILL CONTINUE TOGETHER -- COMBINING, EXCHANGING AND ENLARGING OUR RESOURCES, FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL OUR PEOPLES.
- 10. THIS IS AN ISSUE WE ARE FACING CONSTANTLY AT THE

UNITED NATIONS AND IN VARIOUS DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS AROUND THE WORLD. IT IS AN ISSUE THAT I KNOW CONSUMES MUCH OF THE WAKING ENERGIES AND WORKING HOURS OF MANY PEOPLE IN THIS ROOM

- 11. MAYBE THE MOST USEFUL CONTRIBUTION I CAN MAKE TO YOUR THINKING ON THIS SUBJECT WOULD DRAW FROM MY OWN EXPERIENCE SOUTH OF THAT LINE DRAWN BY MR. MASON AND MR. DIXON, FROM THE WORKING PARTNERSHIP WHICH MANY OF US IN THE AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEVELOPED WITH THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY.
- 12. AFTER YOU HEAR ME OUT, THEN YOU CAN DECIDE HOW LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MUCH OF WHAT I SAY IS RELEVANT TO YOUR SITUATION. THE DECISIONS ARE YOURS, BUT I BELIEVE THAT WE CAN HELP YOU IF YOU WANT US TO.

- 13. MY ARGUMENT BOILS DOWN TO MY CONVICTION THAT THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM, AS IT IS IN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, CAN BE THE GREATEST FORCE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE NOW OPERATING ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.
- 14. THE MARXISTS TALK A REVOLUTION, BUT IN MY EXPERIENCE, IT IS BUSINESSMEN, OPERATING FROM THEIR OWN CLEAR INTERESTS, WHO CAN WORK TO BRING IT ABOUT. THE MOST SUCCESSFUL TRANSFORMATIONS OF SOCIETY CAN COME, NOT FROM SOME FIERY IDEOLOGUE'S DOCTRINE NOR EVEN FROM FORCE OF ARMS, BUT RATHER FROM ADVANCING TECHNOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION FOR THE PRODUCTION OF GOODS AND SERVICES.
- 15. CONSTRUCTIVE TRANSFORMATION OF A SOCIETY CAN COME BY THIS METHOD ONLY IF BUSINESSMEN DECIDE THAT IT SHOULD. THERE IS NOTHING AUTOMATIC OR INEVITABLE ABOUT IT. AN INCREASE IN WEALTH, BY ITSELF, DOESN'T DO THE JOB; WEALTH THAT IS INEFFICIENTLY CREATED AND UNJUSTLY DISTRIBUTED THROUGH A SYSTEM BUILT ON DENIAL IS NOT GOING TO BRING ANY TRANSFORMATIONS THAT ARE WORTH ANYTHING.
- 16. THE PARTNERSHIP THAT SOME OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS AND BUSINESSMEN BUILT UP IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH PROVED AN ESSENTIAL POINT ABOUT THE FREE MARKET SYSTEM: WHEN GOODS ARE SHARED WITH THOSE AT THE BOTTOM OF THE SYSTEM, IT DOESN'T MEAN THEY HAVE TO BE TAKEN AWAY FROM THOSE AT THE TOP.
- 17. REDUCING THE POVERTY OF THE POOREST DOES NOT HAVE TO REDUCE THE WEALTH OF THE RICHEST. IN FACT, EXACTLY

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THEOPPOSITE CAN HAPPEN.

18. AS LONG AS THE 11 MILLION BLACKS OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH WERE HELD DOWN, THE SOUTH ITSELF WAS HELD DOWN. THE ENTRY OF THIS VAST AND READY POPULATION INTO THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM TRANSFORMED THE SOUTH FROM A DEPRESSED AREA TO THE MOST DYNAMIC AND RAPIDLY GROWING REGION OF THE UNITED STATES; THAT'S WHAT IT IS TODAY.

- 19. BY AND LARGE BLACKS IN THE UNITED STATES KNOW THEY HAVE A SOLID STAKE IN THE SYSTEM. THEY DON'T WANT TO OVERTHROW ANYTHING. ALONGSIDE THEIR WHITE NEIGHBORS, THEY ARE WORKING, BUILDING, AND ENJOYING A NEW PLURALISTIC SOCIETY. I'M THE LAST ONE TO SAY WE'VE SOLVED ALL OUR PROBLEMS, BUT WE'RE WORKING TO SOLVE THEM IN AN EXPANDING FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY.
- 20. THIS CHANGE CAME ABOUT IN LESS THAN A GENERATION. WE COULD TALK FOR HOURS SOMETIME -- AND I WOULD LOVE TO DO IT -- ABOUT EXACTLY WHAT WE DID EACH STEP ALONG THE WAY, OUR CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS AND THE BUSINESSMEN IN EACH COMMUNITY.
- 21. IN ATLANTA, IT WAS THE FIVE LOCAL BANKS THAT TOOK THE INITIATIVE. THEY KNEW THAT RACIAL VIOLENCE WOULD BE BAD FOR THEM, FOR THEIR BUSINESS, FOR THE COMMUNITY IN WHICH THEY HAD INVESTED SO MUCH.
- 22. BUT OTHER SOUTHERN CITIES WEREN'T SO LUCKY. IN BIRMINGHAM, FOR INSTANCE, I REMEMBER THERE WAS LITTLE LOCAL INTEREST IN DEALING WITH RACIAL PROBLEMS UNTIL AFTER VIOLENCE HAD BROKEN OUT.
- 23. AND EVEN THEN, THE CITY AND STATE GOVERNMENTS WERE NO HELP -- THEY SEEMED ACTIVELY HOSTILE TO WHAT A SMALL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GROUP OF BUSINESSMEN DECIDED TO DO.

24. I REMEMBER A LITTLE MEETING WE HAD, WITH MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE PRESIDENT OF ONE OF THE BIG CORPORATIONS THAT HAD A STAKE IN THE COMMUNITY. THROUGH THEIR CONTACTS, THEY LINED UP ABOUT 100 BUSINESSES OF ALL SIZES AROUND TOWN, WHO GRADUALLY INTRODUCED A DELIBERATE PROGRAM OF PHASED DESEGREGATION IN EMPLOYMENT

AND BUSINESS OPERATIONS.

25. EVERYTHING WAS THOUGHT OUT CAREFULLY AHEAD OF TIME; EVERYTHING HAPPENED IN SEQUENCE, NOTHING WAS SUDDEN.

IN THE COURSE OF JUST ONE YEAR, THE CITY HAD STARTED TURNING AROUND.

- 26. ANY ECONOMIST COULD SEE WHY. WITH AN INCREASE IN BLACK EMPLOYMENT, THERE CAME AN EXPANDED CONSUMER MARKET. THERE WERE MORE CUSTOMERS, AND SO EVEN MORE PEOPLE WERE HIRED TO PRODUCE MORE GOODS.
- 27. THIS IS JUST WHAT HAPPENED; THIS IS WHAT I LIVED THROUGH DURING THOSE YEARS, REPEATED IN COMMUNITY AFTER COMMUNITY, OVER AND OVER AGAIN.
- 28. NOW, I'VE HEARD PEOPLE ARGUE MANY TIMES THAT THE SITUATION YOU FACE HERE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT IN ANY WAY COMPARABLE TO WHAT WE FACED IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH. I UNDERSTAND ALL THE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES. BUT I'D LIKE TO SEE A LITTLE MORE IMAGINATION IN RECOGNIZING SOME EQUALLY OBVIOUS PARALLELS.
- 29. IT WAS A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION A FEW MONTHS
 AGO, FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN THE CAPETOWN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
 CALLED ON ITS MEMBERS FOR A "NO DISCRIMINATION PLEDGE" IN
 EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES; THERE ARE A LOT OF US WATCHING
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TO SEE HOW THAT CAMPAIGN DEVELOPS.

- 30. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE MARKET POTENTIAL OF THE BLACKS IN THIS COUNTRY IS FAR GREATER THAN IT WAS IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH.
- 31. YOU DON'T NEED ME TO TELL YOU ABOUT THE TRENDS IN YOUR OWN ECONOMY, THE FACT THAT LAST YEAR, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE WORLD WAR II, SOUTH AFRICA WENT INTO AN ACTUAL RECESSION.
- 32. YOU KNOW THE WAY SOME AMERICAN COMPANIES ARE START-ING TO INTRODUCE MORE PROGRESSIVE EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS IN THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN OPERATIONS AND IMPROVE THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THEIR BLACK EMPLOYEES. BUT YOU CAN'T EXPECT FOREIGN INVESTORS TO DO THE JOB FOR YOU.
- 33. YOUR ECONOMIC PLANNERS TALK ABOUT THE BOOMING MARKET POTENTIAL FOR YOUR PRODUCTS ACROSS THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THIS CONTINENT.

34. IF YOU'RE EVER GOING TO GET INTO SUCH A POSITION, YOU WILL NEED MORE THAN DECENT POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

YOU WILL NEED ALL THE PRODUCTIVE AND SALES CAPACITY OF YOUR BLACK POPULATION, IN ORDER TO REACH THOSE MARKETS.

35. NOW LET ME REALLY GET DOWN TO THE BASICS. AS AT LEAST THIS OUTSIDER SEES IT, YOU HAVE NO REAL ALTERNATIVE -- EXCEPT TO GO THIS ROUTE OF CHANGE THROUGH THE MARKETPLACE.

36. SOUTH AFRICA HAS IMPRESSIVE MILITARY DEFENSE SYSTEMS, BUT IT IS DEFENDING ITSELF AGAINST THE WRONG THREAT. THE PROBLEMS BEARING DOWN ON YOU ARE NOT MILITARY, BUT ECONOMIC: SHRINKING MARKETS, SHRINKING INVESTMENTS, A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LARGE UNUSED PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY WITHIN YOUR OWN SOCIETY.

- 37. ADD TO THIS THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ELEMENT OF FEAR -- AND WHAT A CLIMATE OF FEAR DOES TO ANY POTENTIAL INVESTORS -- AND YOU SEE THE SHAPE OF A REAL THREAT. YOU SHOULD KNOW ONE THING FOR SURE: NO FOREIGN GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO WANT TO DEFEND INVESTMENT BY ITS NATIONALS IN A HARSH SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CLIMATE.
- 38. WE HAD A SLOGAN IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT THAT WE USED WHEN SOME OF OUR WORKERS GOT A LITTLE TOO EXCITED AND WANTED TO GO OUT AND CAUSE TROUBLE THAT WOULD BACKFIRE ON US. I'VE BEEN USING IT IN MY TALKS ALL AROUND THIS CONTINENT, IN ARGUING FOR NON-VIOLENT MEANS TO BRING ABOUT SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE. AND I SHOULD USE IT WITH YOU HERE, TOO.
- 39. THE SLOGAN IS, DON'T GET MAD -- GET SMART. SOUTH AFRICA'S BIGGEST ENEMY IS NOT SOME EXTERNAL MILITARY THREAT OR EVEN SUBVERSION FROM WITHIN. WHAT YOU SHOULD BE WORRIED ABOUT ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE IS THE PASSAGE OF TIME.
- 40. AND I CAN ARGUE THIS IN STRICTLY BUSINESS, ECONOMIC TERMS. (YOU'LL NOTICE I HAVEN'T BEEN MAKING ANY OF THE MORAL OR HUMANITARIAN ARGUMENTS AGAINST APARTHEID WITH YOU TODAY. IT'S NOT BECAUSE I DON'T BELIEVE IN THE ARGUMENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- OF WHITE PEOPLE AND BLACK PEOPLE; AND IT'S NOT BECAUSE I DON'T THINK THAT YOU, TOO, RESENT INJUSTICES IN A DISCRIMINATORY SOCIAL SYSTEM. IT'S JUST THAT I KNOW YOU HAVE HEARD ALL THOSE ARGUMENTS DOZENS OF TIMES, WHENEVER YOU'VE GONE ABROAD.)

41. THE REASON I SAY THAT TIME IS YOUR BIGGEST ENEMY IS THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD IS NOT STANDING STILL, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND IS NOT GOING TO WAIT FOR YOU. NEW NATIONS, NEW SOCIETIES, NEW ECONOMIES ARE GROWING, SOME OF THEM ON THIS CONTINENT.

- 42. THE MARKETS FARTHER NORTH, WHICH COULD BE YOUR MARKETS, COULD BE TAKEN OVER BY OTHERS. THERE ARE SOME LUCRATIVE INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES UP THERE, AND CAPITAL THAT ONCE MIGHT HAVE COME TO YOU IS GOING TO THEM. IN PLAIN AND SIMPLE TERMS, THIS COUNTRY IS IN DANGER OF BEING LEFT BEHIND.
- 43. I HAVE HEARD THE ARGUMENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA NEEDS TIME BEFORE IT CAN COME TO GRIPS WITH THE BASIC PROBLEM OF FULL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION FOR ALL ITS CITIZENS.
- 44. MY POINT IS THAT SUCH AN ATTITUDE IS NO KINDNESS TO SOUTH AFRICA OR TO ITS PEOPLE. THE LONGER IT RESISTS THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EVOLUTION THAT IS STILL POSSIBLE IN THIS RICH LAND, THE FARTHER BEHIND IT WILL FIND ITSELF AS THE REST OF THE WORLD MOVES FORWARD.
- 45. SO THIS IS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR CHANGE THROUGH THE MARKETPLACE, CHANGE THAT IS NON-VIOLENT, PRODUCTIVE AND HUMANE. THIS IS WHAT OUR SYSTEM CAN DO, BETTER THAN ANY OTHER SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARY SYSTEM GOING.
- 46. THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF LOOKS TO THE MARKET SYSTEMS OF THE WEST FOR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY, THE VARIETY AND QUALITY OF GOODS AND SERVICES THAT THEIR COMMUNIST SYSTEM HAS NEVER BEEN ABLE TO PROVIDE.
- 47. THE INNER STRENGTH OF THE MARKET SYSTEM IS THAT IT HAS TO BEAR PEOPLE IN MIND, IF IT IS TO SUCCEED FOR VERY LONG. IT PRODUCES THINGS FOR PEOPLE, IT PRODUCES THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THINGS PEOPLE WANT. THIS IS WHAT IT IS ALL ABOUT.

48. AND THIS IS WHAT THE ASPIRATIONS OF BLACKS ACROSS THIS CONTINENT ARE ALL ABOUT -- A STANDARD AND QUALITY OF LIFE THAT IS BETTER THAN WHAT THEIR PARENTS KNEW, BETTER NOT ONLY FOR BEING MORE COMFORTABLE, BUT BETTER ALSO FOR BEING MORE FAIR. NO MARKET SYSTEM CAN FUNCTION AT PEAK

EFFICIENCY IF IT HAS TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND CLASS BUYERS, FIRST AND SECOND CLASS CITIZENS.

- 49. THE OPPORTUNITY FOR SOUTH AFRICA, AS IT WAS FOR THE AMERICAN SOUTH, IS TO EXPAND AND IMPROVE AN ECONOMIC ORDER, TO DRAW INTO THE SYSTEM AN ENTIRE POPULATION THAT OTHERWISE WOULD GROW DISAFFECTED AND TURN TO SOME OTHER SYSTEM.
- 50. YOUR CHALLENGE IS TO DRAW YOUR MAJORITY INTO YOUR SYSTEM. THERE IS NO REASON WHY THE KIND OF ECONOMIC CHANGES THAT I'VE BEEN DESCRIBING COULD NOT BUILD A WORKING POLITICAL MAJORITY IN WHICH PEOPLE OF ALL RACES SHARE AN INTEREST, HAVE THEIR OWN STAKE, FOR THEIR OWN WELLBEING AND THE PROSPERITY OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY. WE WOULD ALL BENEFIT.
- 51. I'M GRATEFUL FOR YOUR INVITATION TO BE HERE TODAY, AND FOR THIS CHANCE TO TALK WITH YOU, TO TELL YOU EXACTLY WHAT IS ON MY MIND. AND I WANT YOU ALL TO KNOW THAT WHENEVER YOU'RE READY TO START ALONG THIS COURSE OF FUNDAMENTAL AND PEACEFUL CHANGE, I'M READY TO GIVE YOU ALL THE HELP I CAN. I KNOW MY COUNTRY IS, AS WELL. END TEXT.

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